2: Damm et al. --75
116, 584

(1909) 1938

Woleaians
Ifaluk

The natives marry for love. If a man falls in love with a woman he makes a regular declaration. If she responds, he says: "go and ask your father." If he agrees, he says to his daughter: "Yes, bring him!" Then the girl brings her bridegroom home, and from that time on, he sleeps in the house of his parents-in-law. There is no particular ceremony or celebration, except that more food is served than usual, but the wedding is over.

If the girl does not like the man, but he is determined to have her anyway, he has to pay a certain price. Otherwise, there is no arrangement about payment.

2: Damm et al. --189 [3] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 584 Faraulep

A man asks a girl if she will be his; but the maiden does not reply at once, for she wants to get better acquainted with him. The lovers spend a great deal of time together; the man provides nuts, fish, decorations, etc., and the woman supplies him with mats, food, taro, etc. When she finally agrees to marry him, he goes to her father, and gets his consent; and he takes mats, fish, etc., as a present. If he is refused, it sometimes happens that the girl weds him in spite of her father.

4: Krämer--268 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 584 Woleai

The suitor talks to the parents, and if the girl agrees, she follows him to his house. The husband presents the girl with mats, turmeric (rang), etc, and sometimes even with land; he may make these gifts to her or the family and of course the latter is most welcome.

11: Born--189
116, 595, 584

(1903) 1904

Woleaians
Woleai

There is no law against polygamy, because of economic reasons monogamy is almost universal. If a young man wishes to marry, he must make large payments to his future father-in-law, and he must have some possessions, such as breadfruit and coconut trees and canoes. Poor men are badly off; it is extremely difficult for them to find a wife. Even a wealthy suitor may be rejected by the girl with the expression, "itoai (I do not want to)", if his appearance does not please her.

28: Spiro--122-123 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 833, 584 Ifalik

"After her third menstruation the girl may take a sweetheart (gamar). She must wait because her vagina is small prior to that time, and should she have intercourse, it might be damaged. A girl will usually refuse to have intercourse with a boy who is not her gamar. The gamar relationship is a formally recognized institution, so that it involves certain mutual rights and responsibilities, and might very well be [123] conceived as a kind of experimental engagement period, for marriage always follows one of the gamar relationships. The man gives his gamar presents of tobacco, fish, skirts, and other objects. Should he go on an overseas voyage, he will bring her a present. The girl may give the man gifts, as well, though she has little to offer him. Thus, the girl stands to gain by this relationship, whereas in a casual affair she receives nothing. Ideally, therefore, when a boy asks a girl to be his gamar and she agrees, she will not permit him to have intercourse with her for the first two nights they sleep together, so that she can be assured that he is sincere about wishing to make her his gamar, and is not looking for a casual affair. The man indicates the sincerity of his intentions by presenting her with presents. The girl will terminate the relationship, when the man ceases to provide her with gifts, for his behavior indicates that he no longer cares about her, but regards her merely as a sexual partner.

The couple in the gamar relationship reveal their secret to no one. Eventually, the

parents may notice the absence of their son or daughter at night, and may inquire, in which case they are told. But no one else is aware of the relationship. All courtship is completely clandestine, a man giving no indication at all that a particular girl is his gamar. Unmarried youth usually ignore each other should they meet on a public path, and the same pattern characterizes the behavior of the gamars, so that unless one actually saw the couple in the act of lovemaking, one would never guess who a boy's or girl's gamar is. Should either gamar reveal the identity of his gamar, the other would terminate the relationship. (4)

The boy visits his gamar only at night, after the adults are sleeping. Should the night be dark, he will crawl into the girl's mosquito netting, and remain with her until daybreak, when he returns to his home. If her house is overcrowded they retire to the bush, where they may sleep in a lean-to, or spread mats on the ground."

"4. The very word, gamar, is taboo in conversation in mixed company. From the attitude of the informants, I had the feeling that it is almost always the man who violates the trust, not the woman."

28: Spiro--131 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 584, 848, 837 Ifalik

"Unmarried lovers either marry after an indeterminate period, or else terminate their affair. Should the girl become pregnant, they will usually marry at the onset of her pregnancy. There is no concept of illegitimacy on Ifaluk, children being eminently desired, whether obtained in marriage or out of it. However, the problem seldom arises since the girl's lover will almost inevitably marry her. (12)"

"12. The problem is complicated, however, if the father of the child is already married. It is seldom that he would leave his wife and family to marry his lover, so that the child is called Sevuliwaliwuliwud, literally, 'from the root of a tree'. That is, the child has no social father, but has come from the tree. Unfortunately, I could get no statistics on its incidence."